1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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Mr Murie spent three days in the translation and study of the ritual, assisted by the Ku'rahus, who explained many points that were somewhat obscure, owing to elisions, the employment of a single word as a mnemonic to call up the picture of a completed action, and the forcing of words to a different application from that of ordinary speech—a not uncommon occurrence in rituals. The latter carefully watched the work lest mistakes should be made, remarking that the ritual "speaks of the powers above, of whom man should be careful what he says." 124 195 196

There is one aspect of the ritual, essential to its understanding, that was carefully explained by the Ku'rahus, and the substance of many conversations on the subject follows. A man's life is an onward movement. If one has within him a determined purpose and seeks the help of the powers his life will "climb up." Here the Ku'rahus made a gesture indicating a line slanting upward; then he arrested the movement and, still holding his hand where he had stopped, went on to say that as a man is climbing up he does something that marks a place in his life where the powers have given him the opportunity to express in acts his peculiar endowments, so this place, this act, forms a stage in his career, and he takes a new name to indicate that he is on a level different from that which he occupied previously. Some men, he said, can rise only a little way, others live on a dead level, and he illustrated his words by moving his hands horizontally. Men having power to advance, climb step by step, and here again he made his idea plain by a gesture picturing a slant, then a level, a slant, and a level. In this connection he called attention to the words, in line 1359, "rutu'rahwitz pari," "to overtake walking," saying that the people who desire to have a name, or to change their name, must strive to overtake in the walk of life an upper level, such a one as these ancient men spoken of in the ritual had reached, where they threw away the names by which they had been known before. "Rutu'rahwitz pari," is a call to the Pawnees, bidding them emulate these men and overtake them by the doing of like deeds. 181 555 553 761 829

Three facts connected with the Pawnee custom of taking a new name should be stated: 553

First. A man was permitted to take a name only after the performance of an act indicative of ability or strength of character. 555 796*

Second. The name had to be assumed openly before the people to whom the act it commemorated was known.

Third. It was necessary that it should be announced in connection with such a ritual as that here given.

These facts indicate (1) that a man's name stood for what he had shown himself to be in the light of his actions; (2) that this was recognized by his tribesmen; and (3) that it was proclaimed by one having in charge the mediatory rites through which man could be approached by the supernatural.

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automation (*Life*, July 19, 1963). Referred to as "sudden" in the magazine article, it should surely not be sudden to most of us. With the advantage of a clear consciousness of a long past and its major changes, we must accept change and move intelligently into the future. We must prepare for our new needs in a new society by opening to the light of questioning even our most basic institutions—the family, the home, modes and institutions of work, the character of administration, and our whole evaluation of everyday human experience. The Pawnee way is one of thousands of ways of life that mankind has developed. As a springboard for a reexamination of our own way of life it has the advantage of being so different from our own, and in fact from the whole patterning of Eurasiatic civilization, that a study of its ways and social interactions helps us to throw into sharp relief our most widely accepted hypotheses on the nature of "the basic human character" and to test whether some of these assumptions are in reality universal human nature or rather limited modes of learned behavior that we have developed for needs that are now becoming obsolete.

In its very essence, the Pawnee outlook on reality differs from our own. For us the material aspect is primary. On a second level of discourse, we place observed events; on a third level, which we count still less sure, is the "human factor"; and finally furthest removed from solid reality is the realm of ideas. In the Pawnee estimate of the world around him, the primary level of reality is thought. In our own story of creation, the deity shaped man out of clay, but the Pawnee deity—Vault-of-the-Heavens—began the process of creation with thoughts and so created the universe and the stars, and they in turn were to create man in their own image. When a Pawnee individual wanted to organize his life goals, he looked within himself in his thinking and was blessed by Heaven with a vision. In the Pawnee context, the *thinking* man was the essential human being. The universe continued its seasonal round only when man willed it through his thought of Heaven and its creative power. In creating man, Heaven had also created the moving force of the universe. In this order of things, events were an adjunct of *human* ongoing, and all the nonliving things were a fluid manifestation of the universal life process. A thing manufactured was a manifestation of a very personal skill, and a thing used was equally personal. The skill of the priest who kept the universe in motion and that of the arrowshaft maker had an analogous quality which was inherent in the person himself, and both were considered as dedicated public professions. For both living and nonliving things in the time of the creation, there were always two storms—one to build the empty structure and one for its continuity. This estimate of the nature of reality is almost the complete reverse of our own and is one of the many ways in which the Pawnee outlook contrasts rather sharply with ours.

As another contrast in values between the Pawnee and ourselves I

sirawari i	They two who are traveling,
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a	Alone, they two who are traveling,
tsapat-i witiwaku	A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a	I wonder if they two are true (to each other).

tskara, sirawari-i-a-a-a-a-a

By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured within the house even when only two were sitting together. First there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

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of the Skidi villages of Village-across-a-Ridge and Pumpkin-Vine would join the Wolf-in-Water and Bottomland Village, and they would play rough and kick one another.

The location of the four bands was along the west side of Beaver Creek and the Skidi were in the westernmost position, the other three bands about half a mile away to the east. While according to past tradition, they always lived south of the Skidi and were referred to generally as "South Bands," they were now actually located to the east:

> "The Skidi chief would sit on a high bluff and the Eastward (*tu-hawit*, "Settlement-east" chiefs sat on a bluff near their home and they would watch the boys. They said, "When we were boys we used to play like that and kick."
>
> It would begin in the evening when the boys would call out, *hu-hu-hu*. Then the boys would hear and come outside. Folks would say to the small boys, "Don't go there, you'll get hurt," but some would steal out and join the fight anyway. When one side would be chased back, the older people would laugh and say, "Go back again. . . ."
>
> When it got darker the little boys were told to go back and run home because the big boys were going to fight now—the sixteen-to-eighteen-year-olds. Then in the moonlight sometimes, the men of about thirty years old would fight, and then afterward the old men forty and over. The men would take blankets from one another and kick one another, but afterward they had to return the blankets.
>
> This game was never played with the Skidi villages alone opposing one another, only between the Skidi Band as one party and the South Bands as the other. They never kicked hard—just for fun. If the South Band boys met the Skidi boys, there was always a kicking contest."

A similar game is reported between different divisions of the Comanches.

The Pawnee Person

There is no simple formula for describing the intricate logic of the Pawnee people's lives. One thing is clear—that no one is caught within the social code. Against the backdrop of his natural environment, each individual stands as his own person. The Old World design for the human personality does not apply to this New World Man. The Pawnee child was born into a community from the beginning, and he never acquired the notion that he was closed in "within four walls." He was literally trained to feel that the world around him was his home—*kahuraru*,

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the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

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visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsbiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. (See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved

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753 754 578 756 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would invariably find if he searched around for it.

The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his newfound animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as

756 754 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 626 554 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 578 • 829 626 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

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terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social consequences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation. The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.